

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BERLIN 04209

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FOR EUR/CE ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY), GE
SUBJECT: CONTINGENCY QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON GDR FOR
PRESIDENT'S TOWN MEETING IN BERLIN.

REF: STATE 158052

1. IN RESPONSE TO REFTTEL, FOLLOWING ARE CONTINGENCY Q'S
AND A'S ON THE GDR FOR THE PRESIDENT'S TOWN MEETING IN
BERLIN. WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT MANY OF THESE TOPICS
COULD COME UP IN VARIOUS FORMS AND FROM A VARIETY OF
POINTS OF VIEW, WE THINK THAT THESE ARE THE MOST
IMPORTANT AND LIKELY TOPICS TO ARISE IN QUESTIONING BY
A GERMAN/BERLIN AUDIENCE.

Q. - MR. PRESIDENT, HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE CURRENT
STATE OF US-GDR RELATIONS?

A. - IT HAS BEEN LESS THAN FOUR YEARS SINCE WE ESTAB-
LISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE GDR. IN THIS BRIEF
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PERIOD THERE HAS BEEN A STEP-BY-STEP DEVELOPMENT OF RE-
LATIONS. SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE
FIELDS OF TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES. AS YOU KNOW, THE
SUPERB DRESDEN ART EXHIBIT IS NOW ON DISPLAY AT THE
NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART IN WASHINGTON. THIS EXHIBIT IS A
GREAT TRIBUTE TO GERMAN CULTURE AND A MANIFESTATION OF
THE GDR INTEREST IN DEVELOPING BILATERAL COOPERATION WITH

THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, WE HAVE A NUMBER OF UNRESOLVED POLITICAL AND OTHER ISSUES WITH THE GDR WHICH TEND TO IMPEDE PROGRESS TOWARD THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS SUCH AS CONSULAR CONVENTION, HUMANITARIAN CASES, AND CLAIMS INCLUDING JEWISH MATERIAL CLAIMS.

Q. - WHAT ARE U.S. INTERESTS IN THE GDR THAT JUSTIFY EFFORTS TO DEVELOP GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS? ISN'T THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE GDR INCONSISTENT WITH BERLIN VIABILITY?

A. - OUR PRINCIPAL INTERESTS IN THE GDR REVOLVE AROUND SECURITY CONCERNS. THESE SECURITY CONCERNS RELATE TO THE GDR'S CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, THE NATURE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FRG AND THE BEHAVIOR OF THE GDR IN AND AROUND BERLIN. IN THE CONDUCT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GDR THROUGH VARIOUS CHANNELS WE SEEK TO ENCOURAGE CONSTRUCTIVE CONDUCT IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THUS ENHANCE SECURITY WHICH IS A KEY ELEMENT IN THE VIABILITY OF BERLIN. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE ALWAYS MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS AND THE GDR THAT THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES WILL CONTINUE TO REJECT ACTIVITIES THAT BRING INTO QUESTION FOUR-POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN.

Q. - IF THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT RECOGNIZE BERLIN AS THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR, WHY IS THE EMBASSY SITUATED THERE? DO YOU SEE ANY INCONSISTENCY IN YOUR POSITION?

A. - I SEE NO INCONSISTENCY BETWEEN OUR POSITION ON THE CONFIDENTIAL

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STATUS OF BERLIN AND THE PRESENCE OF AN EMBASSY ACCREDITED TO THE GDR. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS MADE CLEAR OUR POSITION ON THE STATUS OF BERLIN AND THE FACT THAT WE HAVE AN EMBASSY IN EAST BERLIN FOR THE PRACTICAL PURPOSE OF BEING ABLE TO COMMUNICATE WITH GDR AUTHORITIES.

Q. - WHAT ABOUT THE WALL AND THE CLOSED BORDER FOR EAST GERMANS? ISN'T IT A CONTRADICTION FOR THE UNITED STATES, WHICH UNDER YOUR ADMINISTRATION IS URGING HUMAN RIGHTS COMPLIANCE ALL OVER THE WORLD, TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH A COUNTRY SUCH AS THE GDR WHOSE HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD IS SO BAD?

A. - IT IS NOT A CONTRADICTION BECAUSE TO HAVE POOR OR EVEN NO RELATIONS WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE, SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. TO RECOGNIZE THE GDR DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE APPROVE OF ITS FORM OF SOCIETY OR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, OR THAT WE APPROVE OF THE WALL (WHICH WE DO NOT). WE SEEK THROUGH DIRECT CONTACTS AT VARIOUS LEVELS TO PERSUADE THE GDR TO OBSERVE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. OUR DIALOGUE WITH GDR AUTHORITIES DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE HAVE COMPROMISED OUR PRINCIPALS OR

BELIEFS IN THIS AREA. AMERICANS REGARD THE WALL AS REPUGNANT TO EVERY FREE-THINKING HUMAN BEING. WE DEPLORE RESTRICTIONS ON EMIGRATION WHEREVER THEY EXIST. WE DEPLORE RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH, THE PRESS AND RELIGION, WHEREVER THEY EXIST. IN PARTICULAR, WE DEPLORE THE MISUSE OF POLICE AND LEGAL SYSTEMS TO REPRESS THE EFFORTS OF PEOPLE TO EXERCISE THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS.

Q. - WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF GDR PERFORMANCE IN

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IMPLEMENTING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT?

A. - AS A SIGNATORY TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, THE GDR OBLIGATED ITSELF TO CARRY OUT ALL THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT INCLUDING THOSE INVOLVING BASKET THREE RELATING TO COOPERATION IN THE HUMANITARIAN FIELD. WE ARE, OF COURSE, PLEASED THAT THE GDR HAS RECENTLY RESOLVED SEVERAL HUMANITARIAN CASES INVOLVING AMERICAN CITIZENS AND THEIR GDR RELATIVES. WE HOPE THAT SUCH PROGRESS WILL CARRY OVER TO OTHER SUCH CASES AND TO EMERGENCY VISITATION CASES WHERE DELAYS CAUSE HARDSHIPS. THE GDR'S POLICY ON EMIGRATION IS, OF COURSE, VERY RIGID. I UNDERSTAND ABOUT ONE MILLION PENSIONERS ARE ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE TO THE FRG ANNUALLY. DESPITE THE VEXING RESTRICTIONS ON EMIGRATION, SOME TEN MILLION WEST GERMANS TRAVEL TO THE GDR ANNUALLY AS TOURISTS OR VISIT RELATIVES. WITH REGARD TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, THE GDR HAS APPARENTLY DECIDED TO AVOID A FULL-SCALE REPRESSIVE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS WHO PROTESTED THE FORCED EXPATRIATION OF POET-

SINGER WOLF BIERMANN. IN THE CULTURAL AND TRADE FIELDS,
THERE HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ALTHOUGH THE GDR IS
RATHER RESTRICTIVE IN PROVIDING COMMERCIAL INFORMATION.
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WE LOOK FORWARD TO A CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH THE GDR ON
CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, WITH A VIEW TO A SUCCESSFUL MEETING
AT MADRID.

Q. - WHAT IS THE U.S. POSITION ON THE EVENTUAL REUNIFI-
CATION OF GERMANY?

A. - AS ONE OF THE VICTORIOUS POWERS RESPONSIBLE FOR
GERMANY AS A WHOLE, THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS FAVORED
EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE BASED ON THE
PRINCIPAL OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

Q. - EAST GERMANY HAS OVER THE YEARS, WITH SOVIET
BACKING, USED WHAT WILLY BRANDT ONCE TERMED 'SALAMI
TACTICS' TO REDUCE ALLIED CONTROL OVER BERLIN. WHY
DOESN'T THE UNITED STATES TAKE STRONGER MEASURES THAN
MERELY PROTEST EACH TIME?

A. - I WOULD NOT MINIMIZE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR PRO-
TESTS, IN WHICH WE NOTIFY THE SOVIET UNION, REMINDING IT
OF POST-WAR ARRANGEMENTS AND THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT,
THAT WE WILL NOT TOLERATE USING BERLIN AS A PAWN IN THE
SERIOUS GAME OF EAST-WEST POLITICS. WE LAY GREAT VALUE ON
THE SECURITY AND WELL-BEING OF BERLIN AND THE BERLINERS
AND REFRAIN FROM TAKING DRASTIC MEASURES WHICH COULD
IGNITE A CONFLICT.

Q. - BERLIN IS SUPPOSED TO BE A DEMILITARIZED CITY UNDER
FOUR-POWER ADMINISTRATION. HOWEVER, EAST GERMAN ARMY
UNITS HAVE BEEN PRESENT IN EAST BERLIN FOR YEARS WHERE
THEY CONDUCT ALL SORTS OF MILITARY EXERCISES AND CERE-
MONIES. WHY DOESN'T THE UNITED STATES ENFORCE THE DEMILI-
TARIZATION OF THE SOVIET SECTOR OF THE CITY?
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A. - THE WESTERN ALLIES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES,
HAVE NEVER ACCEPTED THE RIGHT OF GDR MILITARY TO FUNCTION
IN THE EASTERN SECTOR OF BERLIN. WE MAINTAIN THAT POSITION
AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN IT IN THE FUTURE. WHEN GDR
ARMED FORCES ARE ACTIVE IN THE CITY WE SHALL AS APPRO-

PRIATE DRAW TO THE SOVIET UNION'S ATTENTION ITS OBLIGA-
TIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ITS SECTOR OF BERLIN.

Q. - WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES DOING TO OBTAIN THE
RELEASE FROM EAST GERMAN PRISONS OF NICO HUEBNER, WHO WAS
ARRESTED FOR REFUSING TO BE DRAFTED INTO THE EAST GERMAN
ARMY, AND RUDOLF BAHRO, WHO WAS IMPRISONED FOR WRITING A
BOOK CRITICAL OF THE PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM IN THE GDR?

A. - THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS A FUNDAMENTAL
ASPECT OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY. THIS
IS A VERY BROAD POLICY ENCOMPASSING POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC RIGHTS. IT APPLIES TO ALL COUNTRIES INCLUDING
THE UNITED STATES. WE PREFER TO TAKE POSITIVE ACTIONS IN
FURTHERANCE OF THIS POLICY WHENEVER WE CAN. HOWEVER, AS I
SAID IN MY ADDRESS TO THE ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF
AMERICAN STATES LAST MONTH, WE SHALL CONTINUE TO DEMON-
STRATE THAT THERE ARE COSTS TO BE PAID BY COUNTRIES
WHICH ENGAGE IN SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IN
OUR CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH GDR AUTHORITIES WE HAVE
REPEATEDLY STRESSED OUR VIEWS IN THIS AREA AND ATTEMPTED
TO CONVINCE THEM THAT HUMAN RIGHTS IS A CENTRAL COMPONENT
OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY. WE WILL
CONTINUE OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE GDR ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN
THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING RATHER THAN
AS MATTER OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION.

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Q. - YOUR ADVISOR DR. BRZEZINSKI HAS SAID THAT THE GDR

MAY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN TRAINING THE SHABA GUERILLAS.
WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT GDR ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA?

A. - WE HAVE ALWAYS MAINTAINED THAT AFRICAN PROBLEMS ARE BEST SOLVED THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS RATHER THAN THROUGH THE USE OF FORCE AND WE HAVE OPPOSED ATTEMPTS TO AFFECT THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN AFRICA BY FOREIGN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT. WE SEEK TO ENCOURAGE CONSTRUCTIVE GDR BEHAVIOR INTERNATIONALLY. WHEN GDR ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA CONTRIBUTE TO THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES, WE WILL TAKE NOTE OF THIS. WHEN THEIR ACTIONS FEED OR ENCOURAGE THE VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED, IT CAN ONLY HAVE A DETRIMENTAL EFFECT ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND ON US/GDR RELATIONS.

Q. - WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES GOING TO DO ABOUT THE FLOW OF NARCOTICS COMING INTO WEST BERLIN FROM THE NEAR EAST VIA EAST BERLIN?

A. - WE ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HEROIN AND OTHER HARD DRUGS THAT TRANSIT THE GDR AND EAST BERLIN ENROUTE TO WEST BERLIN. UNITED STATES AUTHORITIES HERE ARE MAKING CONFIDENTIAL

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EVERY EFFORT TO CONTROL AND REDUCE THIS PROBLEM AND ARE GIVING THEIR FULL SUPPORT TO WEST BERLIN AUTHORITIES INVOLVED. WE ARE ALSO ENCOURAGING GDR AUTHORITIES TO TAKE MORE ACTIVE MEASURES TO ELIMINATE THIS CHANNEL OF NARCOTICS SUPPLY AND TO RIGOROUSLY ENFORCE THEIR OWN LEGAL PROHIBITIONS ON SUCH SMUGGLING. EFFECTIVE GDR MEASURES ON THIS PROBLEM CAN ONLY CONTRIBUTE TO THE BETTERING OF RELATIONS.

Q. - DOES THE U.S. INTEND TO ACCORD THE GDR MFN IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

A. - MFN FOR NON-MARKET-ECONOMY COUNTRIES WHICH, LIKE THE GDR, DO NOT NOW ENJOY MFN IS GOVERNED BY PROVISIONS OF THE TRADE ACT OF 1974. ONE OF THE REQUIREMENTS UNDER THE ACT IS THAT THERE BE A TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE US AND THE COUNTRY CONCERNED. THE ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT AT THIS TIME CONTEMPLATE NEGOTIATING A TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE GDR.

Q. - ISN'T THE JAMMING OF RIAS A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF THE SPIRIT OF HELSINKI?

A. - WE ARE OPPOSED TO ANY METHODS OR MEANS WHICH PROHIBIT THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION, WHETHER IT IS INTERFERENCE WITH RADIO BROADCASTS, SUCH AS WITH RIAS, CENSORSHIP OR DENYING THE AVAILABILITY OF NEWSPAPERS AND MAGA-

ZINES. WE HAVE SO TOLD THE GDR AND SHALL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

Q. - WAS YOUR SPEECH AT ANNAPOLIS THE END OF DETENTE AND A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR? WHAT WILL THIS MEAN FOR BERLIN AND VISITATIONS?
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A. - AT ANNAPOLIS, I POINTED OUT SOME OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH WE FACE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, IN AFRICA, ON DISARMAMENT AND THE GREAT MORAL ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. I THEN MADE AN OPEN AND PUBLIC RECOMMENDATION TO THE SOVIET UNION - FOR EITHER COOPERATION OR CONFRONTATION. I HAVE NO DESIRE TO REKINDLE THE COLD WAR, AND SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO OUR LIVING PEACABLY ON THIS PLANET, DESPITE OUR DIFFERENCES. AND I HAVE EVERY INTENTION OF SUPPORTING ALL EFFORTS TO EASE YOUR PROBLEMS IN BERLIN AND FOR YOU TO CONTINUE THE VISITS WITH YOUR FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN EAST BERLIN AND THE GDR. BOLEN

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